

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF CYPRUS**

E. D. E. K.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (EDEK)

A Background Survey The Formation of the Party

The founding of EDEK on 3rd May, 1970 was a political necessity. Formed during a congress at which representatives from all parts of the island of Cyprus were present, it came to fulfill the desire of a great number of people from all social strata who wished to give a social democratic orientation to our newly independent republic and at the same time to consolidate that independence.

The ending of colonial rule did not automatically bequeath to Cyprus a tradition of political life. In 1960, when the island became independent of Britain, there was only one political party in the full sense of the word. Called AKEL, it was run on the same lines as Communist parties in other countries. The right-wing had, from time to time, attempted to organise itself but failed because of its tendency to create factions rather than a united political party. Nonetheless, it was the right-wing which had had the support of colonial rule and it was this wing which was groomed to take over once the colonial regime had ended. They were looked upon by imperialist powers as the group which would help in the promotion of neo-colonial policies. Moreover, although the officially declared policy of the Makarios government of the new Cyprus Republic was a policy of non-alignment, the right-wing never approved and wished to bring Cyprus under the control of reactionary politico-military circles. This, however, could never be endorsed by the free-thinking, democratic people of Cyprus who wanted a fully democra-

tic state based upon truly socialist principles.

On the other hand AKEL, which had served the working class well under the colonial regime, had to a great extent discredited itself by tactical errors over the national liberation struggle of 1955-59 (EOKA) and also because it had become fossilised and had lost its revolutionary fervour by adopting a rigid line.

The ten-year experience between 1960-1970 had convinced a great number of people that the time had come for them to take up the struggle for creating the conditions necessary for the building of a democratic state and a socialist society in Cyprus. They were aware of the enormous difficulties lying ahead but they had been convinced that neither the economic imbalance amongst the people nor the intercommunal split between Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks could be settled if the present political and economic structure were to persist.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PARTY

We believe in the right of all peoples of the world to handle their own affairs without foreign intervention, whether that intervention be military, political or economic. Hence, we are against the division of the world into spheres of influence or military blocs. Also we are against any form of colonialism or neo-colonialism and we support those national liberation struggles in whose cause we believe and in whose direction we have confidence. We hold all men to

equal irrespective of colour, religion or nationality. Hence, we cannot support any form of discrimination on racial, religious or national grounds.

We hold democratic institutions to be the best form of government and we therefore, opposed to any form of dictatorship however "justified" its establishment may be as presented by its adherents. We are particularly concerned by the continued existence of the Greek junta which has ignored all democratic principles in Greece and because it threatens directly the democratic institutions in our own country.

We fully endorse the policy of non-alignment followed by the government of Cyprus and we believe that to survive as a state, we must resist any attempt to include Cyprus in polarisation or power blocs.

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

We believe that the Cyprus question would not have been created had it not been for foreign intervention in our internal affairs. Further, we are convinced that the problem will be protracted again because of outside intervention. The essence of our problem is the question of self-determination. We are aware that in the present circumstances, it is impossible to implement this right and for this reason we are in agreement with the policy of President Makarios which aims at creating an independent, demilitarized, non-aligned sovereign country, without foregoing the inalienable right of self-determination.

We believe that Turkish Cypriot minority interests (18 percent of the population) should be safeguarded but we do not believe that these interests should violate international principles through an unequal constitution. It is unthinkable that we should create in Cyprus a regime based upon racial distinction or national distinction through which the minority enjoys excessive privileges, as is the case with the racial regimes of Africa.

We are of the opinion that if the masses of the Turkish Cypriots were free to talk with us, a solution could be found and that the only obstacle to such a solution is the intervention of foreign interests. There are healthy democratic forces within the Turkish Cypriot community which, given the opportunity, would come forward.

In recent years, a fresh attempt was made to find a solution through negotiations under the auspices of the U.N., a step which evolved after years of stalemate. We were in support of the talks, although we would have wished them to have followed a more democratic procedure in that participation were more widely based, rather than having Greek Cypriots represented by only one man.

Cyprus is still threatened by imperialist quarters abroad who find support among reactionary circles in Cyprus. These dangers are real and we, therefore, value greatly the support that Cyprus has received from all of the progressive forces of the world.

GEOGRAPHICAL - POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Cyprus, with a population of just over half a million, is the third largest island in the Mediterranean. Due to its unique position between the continents of Europe, Africa and Asia, it has been the meeting point historically of ideas and influences from all. Its small size (3,572 square miles), however, has also made it particularly vulnerable to foreign conquest in one form or another. After almost 2,000 years of occupation by 12 different nations, it has been independent only 14 years. The last colonizer was Britain, to whom the island was ceded by Turkey in 1878.

Now struggling to consolidate its independence, the island republic finds itself affected directly or indirectly by the politico-economic problems of both East and West.

Its population is comprised of 80

percent Greek Cypriots who claim descent from Mycenaean settlers, 18 percent Turkish Cypriots, whose presence is traced from the Turkish invasion of the island in 1571, and the remainder are Armenians, Maronites, Roman Catholics and Protestants.

Prized for centuries because of its position along the trade routes, it has also acquired a politico-military significance far disproportionate to its size. It is 40 miles from the Turkish coast, 100 miles from Lebanon, 200 from Syria and Israel, and two hours by air from Greece and Egypt.

The regime is of the presidential type, with executive power vested in the president who is elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term. Legislative authority rests with the House of Representatives.

The appeal of Enosis (union with Greece) for many Greek Cypriots could perhaps be traced to the tenacity with which the majority clung to the cultural heritage of mainland Greece through centuries of non-Greek occupation, this in order to survive as a nation. Now recognizing that enosis is not feasible because of strong Turkish objections, however, the majority are willing to cede this right to self-determination in favour of an independence which would guarantee Turkish Cypriot minority rights but not permit a stranglehold constitutionally over the Greek Cypriot majority. This becomes even more significant when one considers that both Greece and Turkey are NATO members and both are controlled by the military who have shown an unhealthy interest in extending their dictatorial influence into the sovereign state of Cyprus through certain groups in their respective communities here.

The Turkish government, which virtually controls the Turkish Cypriot community through its military presence in Cyprus, points up its role as a "shield" against the Greek Cypriot majority.

The Greek government, on the other hand, through its crypto-control over the

local Greek Cypriot army and in other spheres, uses the traditional appeal of Enosis to undermine the Cyprus state as well as its government, at the same time being fully aware that union with the mainland is a political impossibility strongly opposed by its NATO partner Turkey.

The return of EOKA leader George Grivas to Cyprus at the head of an armed, clandestine organisation to proclaim the fight for the unionist cause, was undertaken with the support of the Greek government. What emerged, however, was not a mass-supported movement under a former guerrilla hero, but a Tonton Macoute whose bomb-throwing operations and murders threatened to bring the population to the brink of civil war. Should that have occurred, both Greece and Turkey, as guarantors of the status quo in Cyprus, could have stepped in to "restore order". It was inevitable that resistance movements sprang up, both to support the elected government and to block further attempts by outside powers to beavour the country from within.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDEK PARTY

The highest organ of the party is the Congress, which is elected every three years. This Congress in turn elects the chairman of the party and a Central Committee.

The Central Committee elects both an Executive Committee and a Secretariat composed of the party chairman and five other members.

The five District Committees of the party are elected by district conferences. Each committee elects its own secretary.

There is a local party committee in each village as well as in various sectors of the towns. These committees in turn elect local secretaries who make up an area committee headed by an elected area secretary.

A district congress is held every two

years, and there is an annual district conference to study specific problems of that area.

The Central Committee of EDEK meets every three months, the executive monthly and the Secretariat weekly.

A Democratic Youth Movement called EDEN is affiliated to the party, as well as a trade union called DEOII (Democratic Federation of Labour).

THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

Economic: Despite the relatively high standard of living of certain classes and despite the progress that has been made since independence, Cyprus is still a country with an underdeveloped economy. There is a certain feudal quality in some sections of its rural economy, with relatively great inequality in its per capita income.

The anomaly which prevails in its commercial policy increases the economic instability, and the present balance of payments is only maintained by the existence of a highly parasitical and uncontrolled revenue. The absence of remunerative prices, the low income of the peasant classes, the relatively simple living conditions in the villages stultify the most promising branch of our national economy, i.e. agriculture and animal husbandry.

The declared policy of EDEK on the socio-economic problems of the island rests on the basic principle of equality of opportunity and the popular control over the means of production and national resources.

Agriculture: Cyprus is a country the economy of which is based to a great degree on agricultural production. Agriculture yields in fact 22 percent of the gross national income. If we add to this the existence of a number of industries based on agriculture through raw materials, it is not difficult to assess its importance. Concern, therefore, for the development of agriculture is a top priority of the party. Various com-

mittees have gone into the problems of farmers and our party line is summed up in the following suggestions:

1. The land and water resources belong to the producer.

2. Where the land belongs to big businessmen, it must be taxed in such a way as to make investment unprofitable for the owner. This aims at preventing our rural economy from being controlled by a handful of families, and from gradually acquiring a neo-feudal structure.

3. The establishment of a bank to facilitate land reclamation and further rural development.

4. The land belonging to the Church and the Government must be given to the farmers.

5. Certain areas must be given special attention.

6. Certain light industries connected with the processing of agricultural products must be encouraged.

7. Land re-allocation must be effected so as to create larger units and make cultivation and production more efficient.

In short, the target of our party is the distribution of the national income according to contribution made towards the production of his income. It is, therefore, natural that we shall strive to make the income of the farmer equal to his contribution to the national income.

Labour Policy: Although we recognise that much has been done toward improvement of the living conditions of the workers through the existing trade unions, there is nonetheless the need for more radical measures. Our policy in the first stage is to create the conditions which will allow the workers an active participation in the running of the establishments in which they work, as well as a share in the profits.

Taxation: Despite the great gap that exists in the per capita income, taxation is mostly indirect and it affects uniformly both rich and poor. Thus the majority who earn least shoulder the heaviest burden relatively. This is made worse by tax evasion on the part of the wealthier socio-economic group. Our policy

is that greater emphasis should be given to direct taxation which as a consequence will lighten the burden on the less privileged classes.

Social Policy:

1. **Education.** Education must be free for all. The present education system needs a thorough overhaul to modernise it and free it from jingoistic attitudes and bigotry.

Cyprus has no university of its own, and university education is the privilege of the elite. Until conditions are created for the founding of a university in Cyprus and the extension of free university education to all the party suggests the establishment of a scholarship fund to enable the best talents which are now often wasted to proceed to university education.

2. **Health.** The present medical services are unsatisfactory. The existing stage hospitals are inadequate. It is a top priority for a national health service to be established as soon as possible. Cyprus possesses the necessary doctor-patient ratio and has the means to sustain such a system.

3. **Social Insurance and general security.** The present social security. The present social security scheme needs to be extended and improved so as to cover all classes and to enable the receivers to live a more decent life on the benefits.

Special care must be given to the aged who have so far been badly neglected.

4. **Housing.** The cost of building plots is unbelievably high and has become forbidding to the lower income groups. We believe that the problem can be met effectively only by state intervention. This would be done by limiting the present wave of land speculation and by building houses of good quality on government land and making them available to the poor at low prices on a leasehold basis.

Finally, the government will make up for the expenses incurred for the provision of services to the people by the nationalisation of certain big industries, the mines and the oil refinery, for example, which are presently owned generally by foreign companies.

THE IDEOLOGY AND PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (E.D.E.K.)

**A Synopsis of the Speech of Dr. Vassos Lyssarides
Second Pancyprrian Congress of EDEK
Nicosia, Cyprus April 20-21, 1974**

EDEK, in the period under examination, has worked consistently for the fulfillment of its declarations. It has been made clear that the role of a democratic popular movement is not purely to widen its ranks — definitely not at the expense of its principles — but to act as a catalyst for progressive developments.

EDEK proved to be the most active and effective catalyst for developments in Cyprus. This has rendered EDEK the main target of post-colonial circles, both foreign and local.

The first victim of counter-EDEK

terrorist activities was a modest, honest brave comrade, George Photiou. The party decided to dedicate this second congress to his memory.

We have repeatedly stressed that an examination of Cyprus realities cannot be undertaken as an isolated part of international developments; this would be erroneous and would lead both to misconceptions and the adoption of mistaken tactics. For this reason we shall begin our Congress with an attempt to analyse the present phase of world phenomena.

International Situation: The present phase of international relations is characterised by a detente. Our definition is that whereas we welcome every effort to

ease inter - state relations and eliminate any risk of atomic confrontation, we insist on the necessity for intensification of the struggle for national liberation, complete independence, self-determination, freedom and the elimination of oppression, subjugation and exploitation.

The emergence of new forces has created a balance of power which has facilitated a more independent course of development.

At the present international stage, we are confronted with a new quality of relations which has rendered obsolete the definition of neo-colonialism.

The realisation by the oppressing circles that an alliance with a limited elite in each country brought them into confrontation with the awakening masses of the newly independent or semi-independent countries, led them to a modification of tactics: alliance with a wider strata of the population, especially a nouveau bourgeois - technocratic class, and the sharing of natural resources, including the human element. Thus, they attempt to present the infiltration as compatible with a certain degree of technological progress and thereby lent it a pseudo-national colour. This is what I would define as the post-colonial era in world developments.

The realisation that direct intervention had costly and unfavourable repercussions in the internal front, led post-colonialism into perpetrating wars or subjugation and infiltration by proxy. Israel has been the proxy of these interests in the Middle East.

In other cases, an amenable army has been used as the bridge for post-colonial infiltration. Greece and recently Chile are clear instances of these tactics.

We could define post-colonialism as the neo-colonialism of the over-developed technological era.

The process within the developed (capitalist) world has been somewhat different. The new, sophisticated means

of production necessitate a high technical standard and training for the utilisation of these means. This led to a broadening of the working class with the inclusion of this strata. Further developments will numerically increase this new element.

We should make a correct analysis of this development and the differentiation of the social structure between the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

The delay in doing so has led to drawbacks in Africa and a failure to exploit the new possibilities in Europe.

The present phase in international relations is characterised by the formation of closed economic circles and a multi-national approach. The aim of the circles is to dictate prices of raw materials and commodities and thus maintain the present gap in intra - national development.

The raw-material producing countries should organise a collective approach in order to face this challenge. The last petrol crisis showed that this weapon can be effectively used not only as a means for promoting liberation and independence, but also as a catalyst for developments within the developed industrial countries, whose attitude can thus be influenced. The same crisis indicated that without a collective approach, such means may influence adversely friendly developing countries. They may also be utilised by multi-national companies for further benefits and exploitation. The necessity therefore arises for a complete control by each country of their natural resources. This means, however, an internal, progressive restructure.

To fill the gap at the development stage, the developing countries need relations with industrially advanced countries. This relations should be devoid of even embryonic post-colonial bonds. The establishment of non-exploitive links are inter-related with the social system and only Socialism is incompatible with exploitation.

The E.E.C. is a closed economic circle dominated by post-colonial principles. This is now being realised by the progressive forces of Europe. The recent declarations by Mitterand that he favours an open, free and socialist European market are probably a realisation of the present nature of the E.E.C. These declarations need more clarification, along with concrete proposals for the structure of any form of relations within Europe and between Europe and the developing world.

The present phase of capitalist structure, apart from the inclination towards closed economic circles and multi-national companies, is characterised by an effort of re-exploitation of the capital which by necessity remains in the hands of the working strata of the society. This is being achieved by the share-holder participation in big companies. This has led to the erroneous assumption that the present developed capitalist structure is tantamount to a one-dimensional society. In reality, this is only an effort to castrate the working class and to create a subtly neo-monopolic, multi-national phase of capitalist development with a re-exploitation of the savings of the working masses.

In the period under review, we underwent a monetary crisis which showed us that the existing monetary system is incompatible with the present stage of social development and international relations and that gold not only ceased to be the generally - accepted equivalent but became a trade commodity. The instant inflation devalued the purchasing capabilities of the working strata, as incomes are late in being adapted to new prices.

Radical changes are needed to face this new phenomena: a progressive restructure in the industrialised countries a collective approach amongst developing countries, cooperations on a non - postcolonial attitude, national control of the natural resources, and a united front in facing post-colonialism.

In the period under review, the non-

aligned movement showed its vitality and its significance in promoting coordination of activities, however, will establish more firmly the personality of the movement. The unavoidable inclusion of official forces which are in essence incompatible with the real principles of the movement, is a defect which could be modified by the establishment of a People's Movement which would encourage closer conformity with the principles.

SPECIFIC ISSUES.

1. **Indochina.** EDEK adheres strongly to the principle of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. Guided by this principle, we strongly condemn the American intervention, and we express our solidarity with the people of Indochina in their heroic struggle which aims at an unfettered solution of their problems without any outside interference. We insist on the implementation of the Paris agreements and the immediate cessation of any interference. We believe that the provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam should be recognised. A decision on this matter has been endorsed by the non-aligned conference of heads of State.

We stand for peace and security in Southeast Asia and for peaceful reunification of Korea.

The inclusion of People's China in the UN and the establishment of Bangladesh are constructive and significant developments of the era under review.

2. **Africa.** In Africa, post colonial activity has involved a series of independent countries, the newly discovered petrol, rich mineral resources and the vast hydro-electric possibilities bring Africa onto the platform of international interest.

The liberation struggle has brought a number of successes. Guinea Bissau has been declared an independent country and we firmly support the recognition of the PAIGC government. The

great African leader, Amílcar Cabral, has not lived to witness his vision becoming a reality. But his memory is guiding the struggle of the peoples of Africa. Our party should undertake — in cooperation with other friendly movements — the establishment of a Cabral Institute for studies and seminars on African affairs. PRELIMO and the MPLA are waging a brave anti-colonial war. In Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia), the people have rejected the perpetration of the racial regime, support the principle of one man - one vote, and have entered an armed confrontation as the only means of attaining their aspirations. Our party supports the initiative of AAPSO and ZAPU in convening an international conference in support of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. The conference is to be held in Mogadishu. The same situation holds in Namibia (Southwest Africa) where SWAPO is engaged in a military confrontation with the post-colonial powers. In South Africa, the ANC continues the anti-racial struggle through years of bitter hardship, death and imprisonment. The situation in Africa is a miasma to civilisation. We fully support the struggle of the Africans against colonialism and racial discrimination.

Further, any direct or indirect support to Portugal or the racial regimes constitute a crime against humanity, civilisation, human dignity and freedom. NATO is guilty of giving aid which perpetuates colonial oppression. All freedom-loving forces should disengage themselves from any direct or indirect involvement in support of the oppressive regimes of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

3. Latin America. In Latin America the orthodox neo-colonial relations still prevail. The utilisation of the army has been a constant feature. Recent events in Chile should cause the popular forces to reconsider their tactics in order to safeguard their successes. A fascist clique, directed by U.S. politico-military circles, has ousted the popular government of Salvadore Allende and imposed

a regime of terror. We strongly support the resistance movement of the people of Chile. Allende, dead, leads the struggle of his people and his last speech, delivered while tanks and airplanes were demolishing the Presidential Palace, has become a banner of all the people of the world.

4. Europe. A new form of relations has developed in Europe. Europe security and cooperation has taken substantial steps. The social democratic policy of the German Federal Republic has contributed considerably to this process. Normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR have been significant. The climate of security contributes to a disengagement of Europe from sophisticated post-colonial relations and toward self-reliance. This may lead to a harmonious relationship with the developing world but only if and where coupled with internal socialist transformation. Socialism is incompatible with post-colonial relations. The socialist movement has scored successes in Europe but it should be mentioned that any link with Portugal, Israel or post-colonial circles jeopardises the essence of socialism and damages the relations with the freedom forces, the developing world and the non-aligned movement.

Another issue that should be considered is the inclusion of fascist regimes in the efforts for security and cooperation. Such cooperation is understandable amongst countries with different social systems, but it is unacceptable with regimes that have been imposed by fascist military coups. Greece is an example. Such cooperation would legalise the illegality. Democracy is incompatible with post-colonialism, inequality, exploitation, monopolistic ownership of the means of production, enslavement of material necessities, and governments by proxy.

The Middle East. Basically the problem could be defined as the effort of post-colonial circles to control the natural resources and the communication potentialities of the area. Israel has

been the proxy of these interests. The Palestinian Arabs have been ousted from their fatherland and large areas of Arab lands have been occupied. An effort toward Arabisation — the projection of other Arab states into the conflict so as to confuse the issue and neutralise the Palestinians — and at the same time to isolate the revolutionary Palestinian movement, is most significant. Partial solutions to the Palestinian problem clearly aim at this target. We believe that there can be no permanent peace without liberation of all Arab lands and complete restoration of the national rights of the Arab Palestinians. They have the right to return to their land. They have the right of self-determination. Acquisition of land acquired by aggression leads to permanent instability. To deprive an entire people of a fatherland is a negation of every principle of justice. Our party stands in solidarity with the Arab cause and we believe that in order to face each new phase of the problem, a Pan-Arab movement of the progressive forces should be solidified. The October war created a new situation and the post-colonial forces are attempting to frustrate the application of the U.N. resolution by protracted discussion on martial issues. We shall always remember Abu Sami, a great friend of Cyprus who was assassinated in this island by Zionist agents because he committed the crime of visualising a democratic Palestine for Jews, Arabs, Christians and Moslems.

Turkey. Here, a semi-junta (a military regime with a parliamentary facade) was succeeded by Ejev't in whose ranks a non-homogenous amalgamation of forces was incorporated.

Its policy regarding Cyprus would amount to the establishment of a racist-based regime and the complete disregard of the wishes of the progressive strata of the Turkish Cypriot community who do not support R. Denktash. Lately, we also witnessed the Aegean oil crisis and can only ask if it is another manifestation of Turkish expansionism.

Or perhaps it is a political game, the price of which Cyprus might be asked to pay?

Greece The elimination of democracy in Greece has brought her both political isolation and a stagnation of the economy. It also deprived Cyprus of her natural ally, the Greek people who, under a terroristic dictatorial regime are incapable of extending effective solidarity to the struggle of the people of Cyprus. Greece is a classic example of the new post-colonial tactics. A moderate pro-NATO regime was considered incompatible with the post-colonial designs and was replaced by a servile military junta. The theory was projected that Cyprus was one of the main targets of this change. The Greek junta and the Turkish military were used respectively as infiltration proxies into Cyprus. The aim was to change the character of Cyprus — from an independent state into a condominium of Greece and Turkey. We wholeheartedly support the Greek resistance and the general struggle of the Greek people for restoration of democracy. The fact that Greek students included EDEK slogans on their banners during the demonstration at the Polytechnic building, charges us with a new task: to offer active solidarity to the Greek people. We are in favour of a free, democratic Greece, removed from outside hegemony. The progressive forces of Europe should reconsider their responsibilities in relation to active support for the struggling democratic forces of Greece.

Cyprus Political Reality. The background of the problem lies in negation of the right of self-determination. Also, the lack of a scientific analysis and ideology during the national liberation struggle led to tactical errors which brought solutions frustrating this right. The present balance of power in the area the intransigent stand of Turkey, the inherent weaknesses of the present Greek regime, along with the semi-occupation and semi-independence of Cyprus render the implementation of

self-determination impossible. The party has agreed with the policy of President Makarios in that under the present circumstances, the feasible solution should be based on an independent, demilitarised, non-aligned, unitary, sovereign country without foregoing permanently the inalienable right of self-determination. Those who at present insist on the line of immediate Enosis (union with Greece) are either consciously favouring the partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey which would be the result of this policy, or they are engaging in thoughtless sloganisation. The presentation of the Cyprus problem as a feud between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a gross misrepresentation.

Without outside interference and provocation, a democratic solution could be reached because there is a coincidence of social-economic interests on a great number of issues. The confrontation is, in fact, between the post-colonial circles and their proxies on the one hand, and the people of Cyprus on the other.

The post-colonial circles exploited the national structure of the country (80 percent Greeks, 18 percent Turks, 2 percent Maronites and Armenians) and employed the willing regimes of Greece and Turkey as proxies for the infiltration and final subjugation of the country. Their aim was to impose a dual-guardianship, a functional partition.

EDEK was the first to reveal the conspiracy against Cyprus as well as the existence of a group of supporters of this policy within the country itself. Our main platform during the last parliamentary elections was that the forces truly loyal to Makarios' policy should secure the majority of seats by electoral cooperation. This was proposed so that in case of Makarios' absence from the political scene, the continuation of the same line would be safeguarded. The fact that this line has not been followed permitted the later manoeuvres of the post-colonial circles for the

elimination of President Makarios and the democratic leadership.

The political blackmail from abroad reached its peak with Papadopoulos' ultimatum which actually demanded that Cyprus degrade itself functional partition be accepted, and that a Turkish super-minister of local administration be agreed upon. The tanks were ready to back the blackmail proposals. President Makarios refused to oblige and EDEK proved at this critical moment to be the vanguard of resistance. In the subsequent mass demonstration in support of Makarios, EDEK was the main speaker. There were certain known absentees from the demonstration while preparations for a succeeding government were being undertaken. Their hopes were frustrated. Further pressure was brought to bear through blackmail on the ecclesiastical side; Makarios was told to choose between his role as head of church and that of head of state. This blackmail coincided with the political ultimatum. Then, the realisation of the failure of the twin blackmails led to the import of General Grivas and a new circle of violence. Thus the anomaly could be presented as internal and any favourable external interferences could be frustrated. Repeated assassination attempts against the President aimed at paving the ground for a constitutional coup and the implementation of takeover plans through an obliging new administration here. Meanwhile, the infiltration operations widened to include political leaders, the army, the security forces, schools and athletic associations. The hesitancy of the state in taking effective measures — there was always the cry of persecution — and the unwillingness of other to reveal the sources of anomaly fed the conspiracy. EDEK courageously told the people the truth. Proposed solutions. The solutions promoted by outside forces provide for a Turkish Cypriot administration with build-in servility to Ankara — Denktash already fills this role — a Greek Cypriot administration servile to Athens, and a central, pseudo-independ-

ent partnership government under the combined guardianship of Greece and Turkey. The structure would be jointly guaranteed by Greece and Turkey with rights of intervention at their discretion. Needless to say that this twin guardianship makes of Cyprus a co-dominium.

To apply a plan rejected by the people and Makarios, infiltration by proxies, political and ecclesiastical blackmail and violence were used.

EDEK insisted on practical measures to face the situation: a politico-military environment including all countries whose national interests clashed with the proposed transformation of an independent Cyprus into a multicolony (The countries of the Third World, the socialist camp and a large number of Western European countries).

—A full mobilisation of the popular forces.

—Complete state control over the army and all security forces.

—Effective measures to eliminate the conspiratorial groups and expose the real sources of anomaly.

There were forces, minute, which insisted that the problem is a dispute to be solved by the two national centres (Greece and Turkey), that non-alignment was an illusion and that Cyprus should seek inclusion in a bloc, that our defence should rely wholly on the Greek army and any other alternative was unpatriotic. These circles had long since been the backbone of post-colonial infiltration.

The democratic forces of Cyprus put themselves at the disposal of the State for any form of resistance against the foreign plans and the internal conspiracy. To destroy this resistance, an effort has been made to confuse the resistance of the people with isolated cases of violent reprisals against the illegal groups. Whereas we condemn the latter because we believe that they sustain the climate of violence, we strongly support the spirit of resistance without which Cyprus will remain at the mercy

of the post-colonial forces.

To eliminate the national risks emanating from the absence of Makarios from the political platform, EDEK has suggested the formation of a collective political body and the mass organisation of the people to face any violation of democratic principles. Resistance in Cyprus might prove a catalyst for developments further than the borders of the island.

The Army. The army has become an instrument of political blackmail and anti-government activities. EDEK sympathizers are ill-treated and the premises of EDEK have been targets of aggression. We insist that Cyprus should have auto-reliance for defence and that the army should be under the complete control of the state, unlike the situation now. We also suggested a shortening of the period of service in the army.

The Intercommunal Talks. EDEK supported in principle the intercommunal talks, but we insisted on a more democratic procedure regarding the composition and the popular enlightenment aspects. The talks have now reached a deadlock after Turkish insistence on a federal solution.

We believe that the Cyprus question should be placed back in the U.N. We have the Galo Plaza report, along with the principles and the Charter of the U.N. There is no illusion that the U.N. can apply a solution, but at least the tendencies toward direct intervention could be frustrated. At the same time, we must accelerate our politico-military defence, enlighten the Greek people to the degree that the present regime in Athens is unable to obstruct, form a collective political body under the president, mobilise the patriotic forces for resistance, cleanse the state machinery and have an absolute state control over all the security forces.

Foreign Policy. EDEK has always believed that the only constructive foreign policy for Cyprus is the non-aligned policy. An adherence to a bloc would be tantamount to multi-coloni-

sation. We elaborated that non-alignment means a concrete stand on all issues on the principles laid down in the various non-aligned conferences. The right of all people to handle their own affairs without foreign intervention, sovereignty, independence, the elimination of violence or threat of violence in interstate relations, the elimination of colonialism, post-colonialism and racial discrimination, the acceleration of economic development and equality in international relations.

The Internal Front. The liberation character of our struggle demands a unity of all the forces which honestly oppose foreign plans. There can be no joint action with circles which form part of the post-colonial internal front. This unity may include ideologically opposing forces which nevertheless support the present Makarios' policy and democratic procedures and respect the expressed will of the people. Cooperation with open or crypto opponents of this line means a deviation from principles resulting in the defeat of any real sense of unity.

Tactics. To face the situation, a wide front of resistance should be formed. The backbone of resistance is the state. But the state needs the support of the entire patriotic people of Cyprus. We have repeatedly stressed that the dangers cannot be faced by petitions or slogans, but with a **strong organisation and practical means.** When fascism knocks at our door, the first duty is the anti-fascism struggle. When post-colonialism knocks, our first duty is anti-postcolonialism. When violence rears, the first duty is resistance. It is a constitutional right of every citizen to resist any violent attempt to divert the democratic process.

The Turkish Cypriots. We repeatedly declared that we believe in a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem with Turkish Cypriot minority rights honestly and properly safeguarded. But we cannot agree to rights which violate basic international principles. It is un-

thinkable that we should create in Cyprus a regime structured on racial discrimination, as is the case in Africa. To grant a minority hypertrophic rights simply because they are a minority, is to discriminate against the majority. And this is what is suggested on ethnic grounds. We believe that socio-economic problems can be solved in a way beneficial to all, independent of race, religion or colour and that if the Turkish Cypriots were free to enter into talks with us, a solution could be rapidly found. The main obstacle is the intervention of outside interests.

The Turkish Cypriot masses now live under an oppressive leadership, directed by Ankara. There are democratic forces amongst the Turkish Cypriot masses which are gallantly fighting against the present leadership. It is our duty to be in contact with these forces which strive for elimination of a dictatorial presence as well as cooperation with the Greek Cypriots. We know that the contacts are being obstructed by post-colonial circles, foreign and local, but it is our duty to exert every effort to achieve solidarity with them.

We believe that after a solution, the per capita expenditure for Turkish Cypriot areas lacking in development should be higher than the average to permit the Turkish Cypriots to overcome the underdevelopment to which they have been subjected by a leadership which tried to create a social, political and economic barrier between the two communities. Today, a large number of Turkish Cypriots are being employed in Greek enterprises. We must enlighten the Turkish community on the dangers which are calling their attention to future dangers, as any effort to proclaim a separate state would be detrimental to the Turkish community itself. We must also adopt practical measures to draw the Turkish masses away from their present post-colonial leadership. More links in the mixed villages incentives for their return to former homes, economic co-operation — these are only a few of the means

which we might employ. We must demonstrate to them that the common enemy is post-colonialism, and that if we stand together as a strong and dignified whole, our progress will be steady and secure.

Military Bases and Monitoring Stations. We need not elaborate that the military bases constitute a mutilation of our independence and a source of danger for friendly neighbouring Arab countries. We are strongly in favour of negotiations for their removal. Independent of this basic position, we believe that the Cyprus government should accelerate the demand for an immediate payment of the due sums. We also voice for the elimination of the U.S. monitoring stations which function as intelligence media to the detriment of Cyprus and the neighbouring countries.

The Role of the Parties. We stressed already that the role of a party is the organised defence and projection of certain principles and targets. For a party to maintain its broadness through deviation, however, is tantamount to compromise for a party is measured by its contribution to the formation of history, the formation of national and social situations. Bureaucracy and arteriosclerosis or the subjugation of principles to tactics are mortal dangers for a party. There are limits to tactical retreats and alliances of convenience. There are splits that are healthy. EDEK will remain faithful to democracy and socialism.

International Relations. The national liberation character of our struggle imposes upon us the widest possible relations. Relations not based on a narrow ideological background, but relations which would widen the solidarity and concern for our struggle. Our brotherly relations with all the movements which participate in the AfroAsian Peoples' Solidarity Organisations (A.A.P.S.O.) are well known. We have brotherly relations with the broad socialist forces, especially in Europe. Our party is the best ambassador to the third

world, the socialist movements of Europe and within the socialist camp.

Communal Elections. EDEK at times stood alone in defence of the right of the agrarian masses to elect their councils. Finally, Parliament was obliged to fix a date, but while the date is approaching the efforts of the right-wing forces to frustrate these elections have become evident. We call upon the agrarian masses to be vigilant and protect their electoral rights.

Parliamentary Elections. The mistakes that have been committed in the last elections have led to the present precarious situation. In 1975, we shall have new elections. If the progressive forces permit, through their own consent, that Parliament be dominated by infiltrated circles and if the president of the new Parliament is such as to cause hopes amongst the post-colonial circles that in the absence of Makarios, he would fall into line with them, then the life of President Makarios is truly at stake and the national cause in great danger. We insist that the majority of members of Parliament should oppose post-colonialism and that the president of parliament should be such as to guarantee a continuation of President Makarios' line in the latter's absence. EDEK warns of the dangers and calls upon all patriotic forces to safeguard this line. **The electoral system.** The present electoral system is anachronistic and undemocratic. EDEK suggests the proportional representation system. The argument for over-division of political forces is unfounded in the Cyprus circumstances with the present Presidential system.

EDEK — the youth wing. Our party's youth wing has fulfilled a most significant role in the period under survey. There is a special report on this subject.

Women. Though there is a special report on the role and position of women in Cyprus society, along with a suggestion for formation of an organisation, I would like to stress again the absolute necessity for the complete equali-

ty of women in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres. Any other position is an offense against our civilisation and against the principles of socialism. We must work for the fulfillment of those prospectives.

"Ta Nea" newspaper. This newspaper, which means "The News" in Greek, constitutes our everyday instrument of contact with readers through which the party line is projected. As a local newspaper, the standard is high. "Ta Nea" is the target of all the reactionary circles. Obstacles are being created even for its proper circulation. We must work hard to remove every obstacle, to widen its reading public. The newspaper is edited through much hard work and sacrifices. It is our duty to render every possible help to our party newspaper.

Social Policy. We have previously analysed our basic assumptions: Control of the natural resources and the means of production by the people, elimination of exploitation, equality of opportunities. But the freedom from necessity is not our final aim. The target is the absolute freedom of the individual, except to the point whereby his behaviour is damaging to the social entity or the social structure freely chosen by the people. To free the creative potentialities of people, we believe in dialogue and a free search for values. We further stress that the blind adoption of any particular system does not offer a solution, and that the course of each country should be adapted to the national realities based on socialist principles.

The present phase of our economy. We stressed in our first congress that Cyprus, in spite of the high standard of life of certain strata and the progress that has been achieved, is still underdeveloped, ie the economy is underdeveloped. In a system like that prevailing in Cyprus, the government could not control the productive potentialities, but they could influence them through tax, trade and industrial regulations. We suggested a nationalisation of the banks as the

only way to direct the economic activities nationally. In our first congress we mapped out the first stage of our economic edifice. Today, we have more advanced projects.

The Present Crisis. I shall not repeat the general characteristics of the present phase of economic phenomena. I will only repeat that the energy crisis had its repercussions not only in the European region, but on the developing world due to the lack of a collective approach. The cycle of imposition - defence - collectivisation indicates the necessity for a planned economy, but also the incompatibility of capitalism with a free and equal co-existence.

Repercussions on Cyprus. The increased price of petrol and other imported commodities had their repercussion on our national economy. It showed also that instability of our economic structure which found itself at the discretion of circles in control of capital deposits. The crisis also showed that a full association with the EEC would be a fatal mistake for our economic prospectives and that we should revert to a bilateral agreement status. If not, the situation of the internal market by the not-taxable EEC commodities will frustrate possibilities of absorption of our local products by countries outside the EEC and we should recall that our products meet with intense competition within the EEC. Our industrial possibilities will be reduced given the lack of essential raw materials of hydroelectric possibilities and to compete we shall be obliged to maintain a cheap labour market with consequences on the standard of life.

The government, which realized the nature of the policy of large financial circles, decided to adopt measures of state intervention. We suggested that the measures were not sufficient to meet the new situation and indicated a further series of measures. Price control, nationalisation of bank activities, modernisation of the taxation system, encouragement of agrarian and industrial exports, limitation of imports

through legislature were amongs the measures recommended. This year, for the first time, we face a deficit in the balance of payments. It is correct that a long drought had a depressive and negative effect, but unless effective measures are applied, the negative balance will become a constant phenomenon with catastrophic results on our economy.

Remarks on the Five-Year Plan. We must note that since independence, a lot has been done although as mentioned before there was no basic and scientific guiding principle for economic development. The basic assumption of government is that a planned economy is necessary owing to the poor natural resources and the necessity for social development. We suggest that it would then be naive to rely on the goodwill of big financial circles. There can be no planning without control of the capital potentialities.

We must recall that the analogy of government participation in the gross national product is low for a developing economy. The necessity for an accelerated development is inhibited by the effort to cope with inflation unless more radical measures are adopted. In conditions of inflation and reduction of the buying capacity of the working strata, the presupposition for savings are diminished and the import of foreign capital to remedy the situation is not a healthy approach. Neither is a significant reduction of the development effort as this will have an undue influence on employment. The present balance can be maintained with an annual increase of the gross national product by 7.3 percent. We must also pay special attention to the employment of our scientific and highly technical personnel by turning to special branches of industry. In examining the increasing gap in the trade balance, we should note the favourable aspect that the imports of raw materials increased at a higher pace than commodities.

Agriculture. Agriculture yields about

20 percent of the gross national income and constitutes 69.3 percent of our exports. The Cyprus economy relies heavily on the income from agriculture and cattle-breeding. E.D.F.K. has put forward a series of proposals for a radical agrarian reform. They consist mainly of the following: The land and water should belong to the producers. By legislation (taxation of land owned by businessmen) we could inhibit a neo-feudal structure. The church-owned land and the cultivatable government land should be allotted to the producers. There should be a general control of the law for redistribution of land should be accelerated. There should be safety prices and insurance of the production. Marketing boards for local profits could subsidize those imported so that the import profits could subsidize local production. Marketing boards for local products should include those imported so that the import profits could subsidize local production. A bank should be established to facilitate land reclamation and further rural development, reorientation of certain crop prospectives, limitation of imports of locally produced agrarian commodities, strengthening and democratisation of the cooperative system, equal development of all areas further industrialisation of agrarian products, larger units, and control of prices on raw material for agriculture.

Labour policy. A higher participation in the national income is called for. At present this is usually below the average. Readjustment of the cost of living allowance should not be measured on the sole basis of highest salaries, and amelioration of the social insurance scheme is necessary. We do not endorse the unconditional proposal that social insurance benefits should be calculated solely according to contribution. Equal pension for equal position, independent of the time of termination of services should also be examined. As a first stage, we suggest participation of the workers in the running of the establi-

shment in which they work, as well as a share in the profit.

Industry. Our party calls for modernisation, creation of bigger units, government establishment of certain industrial units (fertilisers, etc.) protection from uncontrolled imports with simultaneous control of local prices and quality, strengthening of the develop-

ment bank, nationalisation of the refinery and petrol companies.

Tourism. A thorough scientific study of possibilities, more liberal policies regarding airlines, more advertising abroad, encouragement of internal tourism, and better terms for loans are needed in this field.